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With respect to the failure noticed in the paper of obtaining the results of many observations, he thought it might be attributed in a great degree to the attempt to ascertain the weights, for the requirement of a weighing machine was a great difficulty, and he thought it would be desirable to leave out the weight in such investigations on account of that difficulty. He moved the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Beddoe for the paper, which was warmly accorded.

Mr. KENNETH R. H. MACKENZIE, referring to that portion of Dr. Beddoe's paper which stated that the Welsh manifested alarm at being measured and weighed, mentioned that a Fellow of the Society, Mr Williams, now in Nicaragua, when in Flintshire, had some of Dr. Beddoe's excellent forms. He found much difficulty in convincing the men that he was not a detective employed in investigating the Fenian business. The independence of mountainous races was a fact as well known and as easily to be accounted for; and in a certain way, perhaps, it might be a test of racial purity, and thus account for the objection felt by the Welsh to be measured. Welshmen were very difficult to deal with—they required adulation; but they were to be pitied, for in these islands they had been more oppressed than the Irish, and had submitted, after a gallant struggle, and become good citizens.

Sir DUNCAN GIBB said it occurred to him that the vital energies of a people had a great deal to do with the state of the body, and that the capacity of the chest should count for something very considerable, as an indication of national power. He thought that the British people as a race were superior to most other people in consequence of the vigour they possessed in that respect.

Mr. MACGRIGOR ALLAN inquired whether the measurements taken applied to men only, to the exclusion of women?

Dr. BEDDOE said they applied only to men. In reply to the remarks of Sir Duncan Gibb, he said that the point referred to was considered in the paper. The measurement of the chest he had been very desirous to obtain, but he had found it was of no use to attempt it. There was much greater difficulty in getting accurate measurements than might be supposed; and some men, who were well and respectably known as naturalists, nevertheless returned such statements as to the size of the heads they measured, that they were valueless. He had tried to get the length of the arm, but he had found it was useless.

Dr. HUNT then resigned the chair to the President, and Mr. Avery read the following paper:—

Civilisation; with especial reference to the so-called Celtic Inhabitants of Ireland. By J. GOULD AVERY, Esq., F.A.S.L.

I wish to preface the remarks which I have to offer on the subject of this paper, by a frank confession of my conscious inability to do justice to it. So far as the range of my own reading has extended, I shall have to occupy new ground, and many of my positions may be questioned, and perhaps justly, by the learned persons whom I have the honour to address. I can only say, that I approach the subject not in the

spirit of a dogmatist, but that of a learner and inquirer ; and where I fail to hit the truth, I shall rejoice to be corrected by those who are better informed. It had been better had the matter been in abler hands, but as an anthropologist, a politician, and a patriot, I am persuaded that the importance of the subject can scarcely be overrated, and that it must receive a vast amount of attention more than it has yet done, before that some of the most important questions of the age can approach a satisfactory solution.

For the purposes of this paper, civilisation may be defined as *the aggregate of those conditions of mental and social existence in which man differs from the brute*. All the qualities of the brute are found to exist, dormant or active, in the constitution of man, and in this respect he may be regarded as an epitome or microcosm of animal nature. High cultivation, total neglect, example, association, superstition, passion, poverty, hunger, extreme cold, disease, drunkenness, insanity, and many other external influences frequently develope unsuspected tendencies, and prove that man shares and aggregates all the qualities of the brute. These qualities are distributed among various races of mankind in various degrees and proportions, and are mixed, blended, and compensated by one another, and existing as they always do in man, in combination with higher and nobler endowments which are the distinctive glory of humanity, they form the characteristics of each particular race, and assign to it its due place in the scale of social existence.

By the phrase, "these qualities are sometimes *mixed*," I mean that heterogeneous qualities are sometimes found in active development in the same nature, whereas in others, different qualities blend together, or counterpoise each other, producing a more harmonious character, and assigning to the latter a higher, to the former a lower position among the races of men. Animals again, are distinguished as domesticated, semi-domesticated, and wild ; gregarious and solitary ; attached to a particular habitat or otherwise, and some flourish only in the neighbourhood of man. Neither of these will willingly adopt other conditions of existence, nor will the one interbreed with the other, and although it is possible, by artificial means, to alter the treatment and conditions of individuals, they will rarely thrive or multiply their kind, and will when external restraints are removed, relapse again into their original state. These characteristics are distinctly traceable among the races of mankind. No evidence whatever can be adduced of a civilised, a semi-civilised, a so-called savage race, altering or interchanging its condition, or of two of such races blending their blood. Historians speak of our barbarian ancestors, and we are told of a time—

"When wild in woods the noble savage ran,"

but the ignorance of anthropological science displayed by historians is only less sublime than that of modern legislators. Under unfavourable circumstances a civilised race might doubtless sink into a condition of great misery, while, by careful and elaborate training, a barbarous race could be greatly improved, but all experience shows that the result of the attempt will be to induce a chronic state of war—

fare as in South Africa ; or as in New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, Van Diemen's Land, and many other instances, to occasion the destruction of the race ; you may cure the disease, but you will kill the patient. Some races, again, exhibit strong family, clannish, and national attachments, and a passionate and exclusive love to their birthplace ; while others are more cosmopolitan in their affections and preferences ; and in almost all countries are found people like the gipsies, who, not highly civilised themselves, yet love to loiter and live in the neighbourhood of civilised industry.

These and other qualities of animal nature, then, are exhibited in man, variously mingled in different races, and describing for each a distinct position in the scale of civilisation. To adopt the language of the breeders of horses, different strains of breed exist, and in some of these excellent qualities are combined with obvious faults, and the qualities of the fiercest animals will co-exist with many of the elements of a superior civilisation.

The habits and usages of a race must, of course, depend on the country which they inhabit, and upon surrounding circumstances. To live underground, and to feed upon blubber and train-oil, may be good sense in an Esquimaux ; and to wear little more than the vestments of Paradise, for a central African ; while to introduce to the former of these countries the refinements of a French restaurant, or to the latter the fashions of Bond Street, would be, not civilisation, but real barbarism. Climate, food, and the elements of external bodily comfort, cannot but have a great effect in modifying civilisation. There is a curious coincidence between the character of the animals of any particular country and of its human inhabitants. Man is an omnivorous animal, and the native originally, probably, of a warm temperate climate, and where he does not receive a supply of animal food, and a damp climate, or inadequate clothing, or great poverty affect him, it is common to find that the lower and more violent qualities of his nature become more than usually active.

It is not the business of science to speak of moral praise or blame, or to regard the subjects of one form of civilisation as therefore, and on that account, better or worse than another. Each, doubtless, is adapted to the circumstances in which it is found, and fitted to fulfil its office in the ultimate history of mankind. To say that because of certain qualities, one is a bad race and another a good, or to be jealous on behalf of any particular race of the scientific features discoverable in it, is equally contrary to sound philosophy and reverence for a Creator. In the language of Pope we say,—

“ Cease, then, nor order imperfection name ;
Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.
Know thy own point ; this kind, this due degree
Of blindness, weakness, Heaven bestows on thee.
Submit in this, or any other sphere,
Secure to be as blest as thou canst bear.”

The mental and social characteristics of every particular race are found associated with a corresponding peculiarity of physical conformation, and the two classes of phenomena, doubtless, are related to

and act and react upon each other. What are to the casual observer very slight and unnoticeable differences of structural organisation, often in fact, reach through the entire system, and are an essential element of the man. (I may refer, in illustration of this remark, to a most able and interesting paper read by Sir Duncan Gibb before this Society "On the Organs of the Human Voice.") These peculiarities of structure mould the character of the race, and assign to it its place in the scale of civilisation. The characteristic, therefore, of each particular race, and of each particular civilisation, are ineradicable. Education, freedom, laws, government, literature, commercial intercourse, wealth, religion, all doubtless may and do exert their influence for good ; but they can no more alter a racial character, than they can turn long heads into round ones, or change a snub into a Roman nose. Civilised nations, who advance in civilisation, do not on that account, or by that means, even tend to lose their national characteristics. They advance, it is true, but it is along their own groove. The Jew of to-day is, it may be, more enlightened, better informed, more civilised, but he is to all intents and purposes the same type of man as when Jacob and his sons went down into Egypt. The Englishman of Chaucer and of Shakspeare is the Englishman of the nineteenth century ; and the Chinese, educated and cultivated as he is, has been unchanged for at least two thousand years. Nor can it reasonably be otherwise.

But while the fiercer and baser qualities in man's nature can neither be ignored nor eradicated, they may and ought to be gradually controlled, subdued, and kept at rest. But this is a personal matter. By each individual placing and keeping before his view a high example of moral excellence, by a resolute practice of self-government, by fearing God and loving his neighbour as himself, man would become the friend and loving associate of man. In this way a healthy and virtuous public opinion would be formed, and would check individual excess, different forms of civilisation would work out each its own wise and good result, and "men would brothers be, and form one family, the wide world over."

But until this happy consummation is attained, man can only be treated wisely and well, by regarding him just as he is. If you will work with him, negotiate with him, trade with him, or govern him, you must treat him as he is, and not as you are, or as you would like him to be, or as you think he ought to be. Legislation must respect racial distinctions and characteristics, or it will be a disastrous and mischievous failure. To govern different races of men, you must study their peculiar racial characteristics and tendencies, and treat them accordingly. Until that be done, all other measures are vain.

I come now to make some remarks upon the so-called Celtic inhabitants of Ireland,—I say the so-called Celtic, because I do not now propose to discuss the question of the origin of the Irish people, but to define my present intention, which is, to make reference, not to the various English, Scotch, and Welsh peoples who, emigrating to Ireland at different periods, and settling there, are Irish only by birth and property, but do not belong to the previous inhabitants. To these my remarks will not apply, and, for the purposes of my paper,

I do not consider them Irish at all. By their names, by their religion, by their loyalty to the government, by their enterprise and success, they show the characteristics of the races to which they belong.

If you take a ride through London on the outside of an omnibus, and amuse yourself by noticing the names over the handsome and busy shops by which you pass, you will hardly fail to observe numberless familiar English names, many Welsh, Scotch, French, Italian, German, and many others, but no Irish,—almost, literally, none at all. A visit to the provincial towns of England will lead to a similar remark. If you examine a London or Provincial Directory, and look for the names of great manufacturers, merchants, shipowners, mine proprietors, or any other of the leading industrial activities of our country, how small a number of the names is Irish. In any town in England, if you ask for the Scotch quarter, the Welsh, or any other, people stare with astonishment, and ask what you mean; but from the metropolis down to the fourth- or fifth-rate towns, and even lower still, if you ask for the Irish quarter, you are understood at once, and conducted in every case to the most filthy, squalid, wretched rookery in the place. In all great contract works, building operations, etc., if you inquire, you will find very many Irish are employed, but not as foremen, skilled mechanics, superior persons, but always and ever as hod-carriers, labourers, “hewers of wood and drawers of water,” with here and there an exceptional case of a man working himself a step or two higher. In reading the police reports, if you chance to miss the name of the party incriminated, but see a case of savage violence and unmerciful brutality, you at once think it is an Irishman, and glance to the first line and are convinced; or if you see an Irish name at the heading, you naturally expect the offence to be of this nature. If a mutiny break out among the girls at an union-house, or the paupers at the casual-ward, you ever look for Irish names among the leaders of the affray.

If you read the *History of Ireland* from the earliest times (and a history which I possess commences ages before the Flood), it consists of an unintermitting series of internecine wars, turbulence, treason, violence, and blood, down to the period of the English Conquest, and long after, up to comparatively a few years ago; insomuch that it has been contended that but for the interference of the English, the native people would have utterly destroyed each other long ago, and depopulated the land. Within the memory of men by no means old, in fact, just before the potato famine, faction fights on every holyday, or other public festival, were universal. I have been informed by an Irish magistrate, that shortly before that time rival factions, of a thousand each, would frequently meet and fight in the streets of his town with stones and bludgeons, and that lives were sometimes lost on those occasions. In fact, the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic church have been compelled to lessen the number of holydays and festival occasions in order to prevent these mischiefs.

I have adduced first of all these particular facts, because with them the English government can have nothing to do. The gregarious tendencies, the squalid habits, the low commercial and social

position, and the brutal violence of the Irish people in London and elsewhere, cannot arise from political causes. The Irishman in England has as free room for his enterprise and industry as any other, and the difference of his condition must be traced, therefore, to himself alone. I may add on this part of the subject, that from the most reliable information I have been able to obtain, the condition of the Irish in New York, and other cities of America, corresponds to their condition in England.

Ireland is a conquered country ; so is England ; so is France ; so is every other country in Europe. It would be difficult to find a land of which there is reasonable evidence that it is now inhabited by its aboriginal possessors. The Celtic Irish themselves were not the aborigines of that island, as their own chronicles proudly relate. But in every other country, the conquered race have at length accepted the fact and submitted, and, retaining the incomparable advantages of previous settlement, have fraternised with the intruding race, and thus become themselves more than conquerors. This the Irish have resolutely refused to do. Without ever having been able, through their own intestine divisions, to offer a decent semblance of resistance to the English, with the fact patent to their eyes, that if not subdued by England they would inevitably become the prey of some other European state ; and that the very national existence of England herself would be imperilled by her allowing an island so rich in harbours to be in the possession of a foreign power ; with the most palpable evidence that Ireland, of all the nations of Europe, has given the least evidence of her capacity for self government, and that she never had, or could, or can have, the remotest chance of acquiring her independence by force of arms ; with all these, and many other considerations staring them in the face, the Irish have doggedly rejected the invincible logic of common sense, have kept up a chronic state of disloyalty and sedition, and have expressed their dissatisfaction by windy clamour, by malignant threatenings, and by repeated conspiracies, the scarcely concealed object of which was wholesale outrage, murder, and blood. Attempts to carry out these designs in 1641 and 1798, attended with circumstances of the most horrible nature, led the English government to measures of reprisal of more or less severity, and have been followed by bitter complaints of its bad government of Ireland, the real causes of which are never spoken of. The English administration of Ireland was probably far from faultless, for that of England was at least equally bad ; but the readers of history need not be informed that the few years prior to 1641 and to 1798 were not times of peculiar severity to Ireland, and that for the last thirty years, at least, a policy of conciliation and even-handed justice has been attended with a growing bitterness in the spirit of Ireland toward England. A couplet which Daniel O'Connell was in the habit of quoting contained a profounder truth than, probably, he himself apprehended :—

“ Hereditary bondsmen ! know ye not

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow ? ”

Most true ! the nation which is fit for freedom, must prove their fit-

ness by themselves winning it. Various attempts to liberate and give national independence to subordinate peoples have been witnessed, during this century, in South America, Greece, and elsewhere, and the results serve to prove the soundness of the aphorism I have quoted. Many races of mankind are fit only for political subordination; and those which are otherwise, will assuredly assert their right to a different condition by winning it for themselves. But I am not dealing with political questions, and my only object is to show that the position of the Irish people in relation to England, and the alleged severity and badness of English government, arise from and illustrate the racial characteristics of the Irish themselves.

During a period of seven hundred years, the Irish have lived side by side with the English people, and have, like them, had access to, and a certain amount of intercourse with, the most civilised nations of Western Europe. That period has witnessed all over Europe, and not least remarkably in England, a wonderful advance in the arts and sciences. Architecture, painting, sculpture, and every other branch of knowledge and of human cultivation have advanced with marvellous rapidity and power. Painters, sculptors, and men of practical science, equal to, and perhaps exceeding what the world has ever seen, have produced their immortal achievements, and in architecture especially, the works of poetry in stone, which charm the eye and thrill the soul, in the cathedrals, abbeys, and other magnificent erections in England, will live to testify of the genius of those who produced them to generations yet unborn. The Irish people have witnessed all this, and the religious fervour which nerved the English to these marvellous achievements, has burned in their hearts with at least equal strength. But although possessing building materials of the very best description, stone, various kinds of marble, lime, and timber in measureless abundance, they have failed to produce one solitary structure worthy of lofty genius. Their Round Towers, the probable memorials of a Phallic superstition more ancient than the period now in question, and as ugly as they are imperishable; their castles, mostly consisting of square towers, with walls of enormous thickness, but frequently without chimneys, and a number of cathedral churches and abbeys, now mostly in ruins,—not one of them all exhibits superior conception, correct taste, or real grandeur, and while all Europe, passing through the throes of political convulsion, conquered, enslaved, oppressed, or liberated, has been still toiling up the steep of science, and marking, by the immortal works of its children, its proud advance in all the arts which dignify and adorn our existence,—the Irish people have lagged behind, and shown as marked deficiency in those mental qualities which conduct to artistic excellence.

The same remark applies to manufactures. The manufacture of silk, of cotton, and of flax, have been established in various parts of Ireland, as in England, but they have nowhere taken root among the Celtic Irish. The flax and linen trades do, it is admitted, flourish, but only in the north, and among the Scottish immigrants, with whom this paper has nothing to do. But the fact that it does flourish among these proves, that the reason why it does not equally succeed

among the Celtic Irish must be looked for in the racial peculiarities of the people.

Within the memory of man, in every part of Great Britain, several branches of industry formerly and for many generations successfully carried on in local and provincial districts, have, from a variety of causes, but chiefly through the introduction of steam machinery, utterly failed and died out as local industries, and have been absorbed and monopolised in great manufacturing centres. Such are candle and soap making, hat making, tanning, currying, glove making, the manufacture of coarse serges and woollens, and some others. The vestiges of these extinct branches of industry are found in every town and village of England, and many of the old inhabitants tell, with a sigh, of the good old times when they were in full activity ; but they have gone, and the people have gone after them to localities where they can be more prosperously conducted, or evincing that fertility of resource, which is one of the remarkable features of the English character, have remained at home, and found remunerative employment of other kinds. In Ireland, too, these industries have perished, but the Irish have found no substitute, but, sinking into hungry idleness, have contented themselves by blaming the English government as the cause of all their misfortunes. This infertility of resources, this want of power to turn his hand to any thing, is a not unimportant feature of the Irish character.

An English farmer, if he have several sons, brings one only of them to his own business, and the rest, at the age of thirteen or fourteen, leave home to follow some commercial or handicraft pursuit, according to his father's means and position, and thus launched upon the world ceases at an early age to become any longer a burden at home. But the Irish farmer, however numerous his family, as a general rule, brings them all up on the farm. He has a dislike to trade, and a sort of contempt for handicraft, and the family is all at home until they marry, emigrate, or otherwise start for life. The family cannot possibly earn much, and as they must live, they get accustomed to the cheapest and commonest kind of food, usually potatoes and buttermilk ; they have an easy, idle kind of life, and are content with it. To repair a hedge, to thatch a leaking roof, to hang a door, to stone the pathway to the cottage, to plant or cultivate a garden, or any other of those gratuitous activities in which the English labourer delights, never occurs to them, or if it does, they do not do it ; they do not read, or apparently yearn after any intellectual pleasures ; but to sleep, to smoke, to sit under the hedge or by the fire, and to drink whiskey when they can get it, are the favourite employments of those hours in which the English labourer adorns his humble dwelling, cultivates his garden, reads some cheap but instructive publication, or pursues those numberless little useful handicrafts by which he enhances so much the comfort of his existence. What is it that impels the Englishman to these gratuitous activities, and not the Irishman, if it be not a difference in racial qualities ? The result is that handicraft in Ireland is usually rude and poor ; it is difficult to get tradesmen of this kind at all. The young Irishman, when he starts for England or America, becomes a mere labourer and nothing

more, and settle where he may, he of necessity takes the lowest kind of useful employment. It will occur to many now present, that of the tradesmen who work for them, some may be Scotchmen, some Welshmen, but not one probably is an Irishman. But if the young Irish farmer remains at home, he wants a farm, and from the number of such arises that keen competition for the land which is the cause of so much unhappiness. If land cannot be obtained, he thinks himself exceedingly ill used, and blames the government; if he be thwarted in his endeavours to obtain a farm, he thinks no revenge too dire and too heavy; and as a few acres only will produce potatoes enough for his subsistence he will readily settle upon such a plot, and so drag out an ignoble existence. The Irish farmer with several sons, is always disposed to promote such a state of things by dividing his holding among them all, and if he had the power to do this it would undoubtedly be done again and again, until, as it was prior to the potatoe famine, the country was filled with hordes of paupers. The resistance afforded to this by the landlord is now attempted to be overcome by legislative interference, giving the tenant a fixed and permanent tenure; and one leading politician even proposes that the state shall buy the freehold and enable the farmer to become possessed of it. The sure and inevitable result of such an attempt would be to give free scope to tendencies in the Irish character, which past experiences has proved to be fatal to general well being. Of all imaginable proposals, that which would acquire the possession of the land, or of the railways by the government, thus concentrating upon the English nation all the odium now shared by the landlords and by the Board of Railway Directors, is, to those who have studied the Irish character, the most suicidal, and the most unwise.

That when man increases and multiplies he should replenish the earth is his Creator's command; and emigration from an overpopulous to a less populated land, is the complement and consequence of human advancement. The Englishman, when he finds no sufficient scope at home departs to another country, not that he does not love his own land, but that he thinks that he can do better elsewhere. He therefore emigrates, cheerfully, lovingly, hopefully, accepting the necessity of his own position, and bequeathing nothing but good will to those he leaves behind. But the Irishman's love to his country entirely differs from this. It is a blind, passionate instinct. He knows that there is no scope for him, that nothing but poverty and misery await him at home, and that comfort, prosperity, and wealth may be obtained abroad. No matter. He hates the necessity of emigration. The very suggestion is to him an outrage and an injury. In consenting to it, he thinks he suffers a cruel injustice. He is taught to regard the English government as in some way guilty of compelling it, and of driving him from his own home and land; and he leaves Ireland with the most intense and deadly hatred of England, and with loudly expressed hopes and threatenings of revenge. This intense, unreasoning, and unreasonable clinging to a native place, is, I venture to submit, not a sentiment, not a principle, but an instinct and a racial peculiarity which political science cannot account for, and anthropology cannot overlook.

The unreflecting recklessness of the Irish character is proverbial. His rage admits of no restraint ; his revenge of no moderation. For an offence for which an Englishman, a Scotchman, or a Welshman would scarcely lift his hand against his fellow man, an Irishman will take his blood. Cruel murders and diabolical outrages are, no doubt, committed in England as well as in Ireland, and perhaps more frequently. But the English murderer shrinks from the contemplation of the enormity of his own crime, and shudders at the blood he has shed. The Irish murderer, on the contrary, revels in it, and kindles at the sight. Among the cruel assassinations recorded within the past few weeks, in one case, after the murderer had slain his victim, he had brutally kicked and otherwise maltreated the body ; in another case, after the body had been riddled with balls, the head of the murdered man was beaten to pieces with a great stone ; in an Irish town, some few years ago, a most worthy respectable man was murdered, in broad daylight, at his own door, and having been interred in the churchyard, and a tomb erected over his remains, within a week of its erection the tomb was found to have been beaten to pieces with a sledge hammer. In the history of the Rebellion of 1798, when the rebels had got possession of Wexford, and had filled the prisons with the Protestant inhabitants, a military commission was held by the rebel leaders, and the prisoners were ordered to be led out for execution. They were taken out in companies of ten and twenty to the new bridge, and a few were then shot ; but generally two rebels stood before and two behind each victim, into whom, having thrust their pikes, they held him suspended in the air, writhing with torture till he expired, the crowd expressing their joy with loud huzzas. Many such instances may be adduced, and prove that this fierce and ferocious brutality cannot be lost sight of in estimating the racial character of the Irish people.

In England, the murderer has no pity, no sympathy, no protection. Every door is closed against him, every heart steeled, every hand hastens to bring him to justice. In Ireland, the case is just the opposite. However unprovoked the crime, or innocent or excellent the victim, the feelings and efforts of the people are all enlisted on the side of the assassin, and none but will aid to shield him from the pursuit of justice. Hostility to the law is a marked and uniform feature of the Irish character ; and public opinion, as expressed by the popular newspapers, endorses to the full the practice of the lower classes.

The Irish people have been, for many centuries, the subjects of Christian teaching, and, professedly at least, a Christian people ; they have been in intercourse with the English and Scotch, and other races of advanced civilisation ; they have had the advantage of a firm and settled government, if not always a judicious one ; they have enjoyed a large amount of political freedom ; they have, for thirty years at least, had an excellent system of popular education ; they have attained a state of wealth and prosperity never equalled before in the history of the island ; but the national characteristics remain wholly unchanged. What they were in the days of Shan O'Neil, of the re-

bellion of 1641, of the later rebellion of 1798, that they are at this moment ; and he who hopes, in the face of all this, to witness a change, is certainly bound, in the name of science and of all humanity, to render a reason for his hope.

The object of this paper is to show that the peculiarities of the Irish character are not due to political causes, to educational neglect, to the force of circumstances, or to any other external influence whatever, but that they are racial, hereditary, and ineradicable. In my opening remarks, I attempted to show that all the qualities of the inferior animals exist in man, mixed, blended, and compensated, and in every case associated with higher and nobler powers, in greater or less degree. The activity or dormancy of these animal qualities, as exhibited, some in one race, and some in another, form the characteristics of the race, and of the civilisation which it possesses, and these characteristics are associated with a corresponding physical conformation, and are persistent and indelible. Whether this be a clue which will conduct to a right estimate of the Irish, or any other race, I will not venture to say ; but of this I am sure, that the subject of the Irish people especially, must be approached in a different direction to any yet adopted by politicians or philosophers before it will be understood, and if I shall only set more able minds than my own to work on this subject, my effort will not be vain.

The thanks of the meeting having been given to the author of the paper,

The PRESIDENT expressed the opinion that it was one-sided in its views, and that the facts were too highly coloured. If there were many walks of life in which the Irish did not excel, it must be admitted that they had produced some eloquent orators, and that they were good soldiers. It was true they had produced no grand buildings, but had they had the chance of doing so ? Wealth and peace were needful for such achievements. Before the English arrived in Ireland, the people were never in a state of peace, according to the author's own showing. In that respect, indeed, they had not been much better off since ; and it was questionable whether the English were not largely responsible for it. He thought the Irish contributed fairly to the ranks of artists ; and the difference between English and Irish workmen had been well explained by Mr. Woodward, when noticing the distinction in the workmanship of some carvings at Trinity College, Dublin, on which both English and Irish were employed. The English carvers got through most work in a routine manner ; but the best work was that of the Irishmen, and it was produced in a different way. While the English continued steadily at work, without talking about it, the Irishman was glad to talk about his work, and to take hints from lookers on. The quantity of their work was small, and it was less uniform, but it was more often of the first quality.

Mr. BENDIR did not object to the tone in which Mr. Avery had treated the subject, nor would he dispute his "principles" ; but many of his "facts" he could not accept as such. Old Irish history, for instance, did not materially differ from the history of other European races when they were first heard of. Cæsar and Tacitus gave accounts

of the nations of Germany, Gaul, and Britain, very similar to all we read about the Irish some centuries after. Among half-civilised races internecine warfare was a common feature, and necessarily preceded the formation of an organised state. From his own experience, Mr. Bendir instanced some branches of trade in London in which the Irish kept their ground fairly against English and foreigners. In America, too, they were not, as Mr. Avery had asserted, "mere hewers of wood and drawers of water", quite the reverse; they were, also, landowners, merchants, employers of labour, competitors in every profitable business and in every honourable profession; often distinguished as speakers in the senate, in the pulpit, and at the bar. How was it that the Irish did so well abroad, whilst in their native country they did not prosper? Race could not account for that, certainly. Amongst the eminent men in the military services of Austria, France, and Spain, Irish names, of undoubted Celtic origin, were now, and for centuries had been, conspicuous. Of all the Austrian generals one only was something like a match for Frederick the Great; he was an Irishman named Loudon, and well worthy the attention of Mr. Avery. Amongst the heroes of the first empire, the name of Macdonald occurred. Amongst the present French Marshals, less than a dozen in number, there were to be found Macmahon and Niel (originally O'Neil). The Spaniards entrusted the command of their army in Africa, when matters became serious, to O'Donnell, the inferiority of extraction having an irresistible charm to everybody, except to an Englishman of pure breed. The talent of the Celts for conspiracy had been dwelt upon by the author of the paper; but he (Mr. Bendir) begged to refer him to the preface of the fourth volume of Thomas Moore,* where he could find a very interesting account of some facts connected with the conspiracy of 1798; there it was stated that almost all the leaders were Protestants, and scarcely a single Catholic took part in it. Now, as the Irish Protestants, as a body, were immigrants from England, and not of true Irish descent, the conclusion was obvious, that the "talent for conspiracy" was not confined to one race. Mr. Avery had tried to make capital out of the fact that by authority of the priesthood the number of holydays had been lessened in Ireland, with a view to avoid the dreadful scenes of drunkenness and debauchery which were said to take place on such occasions. It so happened that the very same thing had been done of late in other countries; Bohemia and Russian Poland, for instance, both largely inhabited by Catholics. This century was eminently a century of work, too frequent interruptions of which were a nuisance, and against the spirit of the times; even the priesthood had come to find that out, and the diminution of the number of holydays was the natural consequence everywhere, Ireland forming by no means an exception. Now, as to the curious "fact" of Mr. Avery's, that old Irish architecture was very poor; one might feel disposed to retort, and ask whether modern English architecture did not show plenty of egregious failures. But to take a larger view, he maintained that in matters of

* Longman's edition, 1847, vol. iv, p. xix, *footnote*.

taste, art, and literature, the Irish were not behind the English. Everybody knew to how large an extent Irish pens supplied London newspapers ; everybody knew how indebted even this Society was to an Irish anthropologist (Dr. Carter Blake), whose accomplishments, whose energy, and whose services in the cause of science were equal to those of any English Fellow. Mr. Avery had found fault with the Irish for their alleged disposition to live on the produce of a "few acres" of land rather than seek more profitable employment abroad ; although the exodus from Ireland had been enormous for a quarter of a century, and consequently the foundation for Mr. Avery's generalisation, but slender, he (Mr. Bendir) could not help remembering those charming lines in which an English poet had celebrated the good old times in this country :—

"When every rood of ground maintained its man."

Why not live contentedly on, and cultivate "a few acres" of Irish soil, if a "rood" of English will keep a "swain", and constitute the economic Eldorado of Goldsmithian happiness ? Whoever had studied the Celtic character, or had come in contact with the Irish peasantry, could not but feel astonished at Mr. Avery reproaching the Irish for their ingratitude. Mr. Avery had contrasted the Englishman who, in distant lands cherished, and almost kept sacred, everything English, with the Irishman who hated and loathed all that belonged to England. Well, the Irishman's affection was concentrated on Ireland ; and whoever knew and remembered the history of the last three centuries, would scarcely be at a loss to account for the difference in the sentiments of English and Irish emigrants : to taunt the latter with "want of gratitude and affection" was simply unjust. Mr. Avery had also alluded to a scheme by a well-known statesman, having for its object a settlement of the Irish land question. That statesman was used to hear every proposition of his described as something dreadful, dangerous, and revolutionary when it was started, often by the very men who afterwards carried out his plans almost to the letter. Perhaps the time was at hand when it would again be acknowledged that the right honourable gentleman, whose name had been wisely omitted, had once more hit upon the proper remedy which would effect the object we all had at heart,—a better understanding, a firmer union, a more brotherly feeling between the two kindred people who constituted the British empire.

Mr. PIKE thought the tone of the paper was one to be deprecated, because it would have the effect of increasing the enmity between Irish and English. The premises, from which conclusions had been drawn, were not anthropological facts, such as physical characteristics, or even mental characteristics reduced to a system, and many of the statements were opposed to history, as contained in contemporaneous records. The attempt to draw a distinction, on the grounds given by the author of the paper, between English and Irish characters, he considered to be unintentionally mischievous. As for the outrages, murders, and concealments of murder, laid to the charge of the Irish, they were exactly similar to the outrages, murders, and concealments

of murder for which the English Hundreds were made responsible during many reigns after the Norman Conquest. The English people, when conquered by the Normans, did what the people of Ireland do at the present time, and did it to so great an extent, that the fines paid by the hundreds formed a considerable item in the revenue. So far as the facts adduced were true, and so far as they proved anything, they would go to prove that the Irish were of the same race as the English; and it was cruel that the Irish should be accused of having invented un-English crimes. Similar circumstances had produced exactly similar crimes in England and in Ireland. They had heard a great deal about the Irish not being able to do various things which required intellect; but had the author of the paper forgotten Grattan, Burke, and Curran? They had been told something about the Irish in America; but the fact was, that if the Americans recognised a difference, they considered the English worse "citizens" than the Irish. The paper was, he considered, rather a lecture which might rouse angry feelings, than a strictly anthropological disquisition. And as the time was one of some popular excitement, he hoped the author of the paper would excuse him when he spoke somewhat strongly on the side of conciliation. The only effect of drawing distinctions, such as had that night been drawn, would be to irritate; and one of the surest engines of conciliation was the truth, which was that the differences pointed out were not differences of race. Whatever racial differences might exist between the English and the Irish, they had certainly not been pointed out to the meeting; and though he would not go so far as to say that no such difference existed, he had recently had occasion to show that there were some psychical resemblances. The two peoples alike refused to submit to domination in religion. The British and the Irish had at one time the same form of faith, and they made the same resistance to Popish domination when it was opposed to their wishes. Later, in the time of Henry VIII, the English having thrown off the domination of the Pope, wanted to impose Protestantism on the Irish, and the result was a different form of faith, but the principle which actuated them was the same. Mr. Pike thought that the race question of Ireland, though very interesting was very difficult, and received no light from such invectives as sometimes appeared in some of the newspapers.

Sir DUNCAN GIBB spoke from his own observation of the Irish settlers in Canada, many of whom were comfortably situated and were doing well, and had been so for two or three generations. Many of the most eloquent orators in America, he said, were Irish; and taking the Irish in America on the whole, a large proportion of the second generation were doing well.

Dr. CHARNOCK disagreed with the assertion that no Irish names were to be seen over shop windows in London. Whilst the paper was being read, he had made out the following list of Irish names:—Boyle, Brian, Brain, Byrne, Concanen, Callaghan, Connor, Coyne, Donovan, Doyle, Duggin, Dunn, Flynn, Gammon, Geoghegan, Hennessey, Hanratty, Kelly, Keeley, Lane, Leahy, Meagher, Monaghan, Moon, Murphy, Reilly, Ryan, Sullivan, Sheridan, Sheill, Tagart. Dr.

Charnock thought, also, that a hundred more Irish names might be found.

Dr. DUNCAN considered that those portions of the paper which referred to the differences in the racial characteristics of the Irish of the south-west of Ireland and the English, were well worthy of careful examination. He dissented from the manner in which many of the alleged facts had been applied in the argument. There was a very great difference between the agricultural class of the south-west of Ireland and the labouring class of (for instance, of the eastern counties) England, and the distinction was evidently not produced by external circumstances alone. There was an amount of poverty, discomfort, and misery amongst the people of the south-west of Ireland that would be unbearable by a labourer of the eastern counties. But it was borne with an amazing amount of light-heartedness and apparent contentment by the Celts. It might be said that the Celts had not the same surroundings as the English peasantry, and that there was not the civilisation of an upper class to regulate their tastes and to lead them out of their squalor by appealing to their ambition. In the south-west of Ireland, the absence of the so-called middle class of English villages and little towns is evident. It might be said that there was an inherent love of the land in the Celt; that he looked upon the patch that had supported his parents and himself with an amount of affection that was not possible in an English labourer, who had no ideas about this relation of the soil to its tillers. He could not agree with Mr. Avery's picture of the habits of the English agricultural labourer, and he was afraid that the author drew his pictures of the class after Morland. As a matter of fact, few of the labourers of the eastern counties indulge in embellishing their cottages, they prefer the beershop; and as they rarely read and write, their amusements are as degraded as those of the Celts of the south-west of Ireland; but the Celt has a power of fun in him, and intrinsically he is not so dull as his English compeer. There was not much to be said on either side about the love of revenge and the method of murder. He would remind the Society of the cold-blooded, pre-determined series of murders called the Massacre of Glencoe; this abominable deed was unsurpassed. He would remind them, also, that however cruelly the Irish might occasionally use their dead foes, the English occasionally boiled theirs; and, in fact, the brutality of the English murder surpassed that of the Irish. He considered that the racial mental characteristics of the Celts of the south-west of Ireland were not to be overlooked in these questions, and that they accounted for the differences between the Irish and English labourers, due regard being paid to influence of example and external circumstances. He thought that now-a-days there might be some philosophy in politics that we, as an English race, might have learned by this time, that all men did not think alike, and that different races could not be made to think alike. It was absurd to legislate, upon the same principles, for the Celts of the south-west of Ireland and our own lower classes. A parental government would suit the Celt, or a form of rule which would attach him by personal affection: you can-

not lead him as we are led. You can no more instil English political economy into south-west Ireland than you can transform an enthusiastic hot-blooded Italian or Spaniard into a cold, sedate, Scottish Presbyterian.

Mr. DENDY suggested that the discussion of the paper should be adjourned to the next session, if such a proceeding were not out of order; but on the remark of the President, that a better opportunity would be afforded of resuming the discussion of the subject at the meeting of the British Association, he acquiesced.

Captain BEDFORD PIM, R.N., warmly expressed his thanks to Mr. Gould Avery for the paper just read. In his opinion it was not only characterised by great ability and thought, but displayed a moral courage not too common now-a-days; and he only hoped it would open the eyes of those in authority to the true state of things in Ireland. The Irish question was simply a race question, and, in truth, religious equality or land-laws had but little to do with it: the Celt was a different being from the Saxon; in fact, there was even a distinction between the inhabitants of the north and south of Ireland. The so-called wrongs of Ireland were a delusion, a useful cry, no doubt, for party purposes, and therefore kept up, but for no other reason. He did not mean to say that the Celt was not unfortunate; the religion which had been forced upon him was a dire misfortune; for most certainly being a Papist did not make the Celtic Irishman less brutal, less of a cowardly assassin, or less unfriendly to law, order, or the best interests of the United Kingdom. Mr. Gould Avery would have done good service if his paper, in ever so small a degree, opened the eyes of the authorities to the true state of the case, but he feared there was not much hope of this; those gentlemen were not anthropologists; indeed, as Mr. Cobden used to say, they knew all about the history of Greece or Rome, but were sadly ignorant of what was passing under their very noses. As regards the unqualified meed of praise for bravery, which one gentleman had given the Irish, he could not agree with him; it was quite true as regarded the northern Irish, —a mixed Protestant people, of whom it was impossible to speak too highly; but the Celtic Irish Papist, in his opinion, and he spoke from practical experience, was all very well with a stick in his hand in a street row, but a very different being with bullets whistling around and death staring him in the face. Under such circumstances, he had seen any amount of pluck shown in the one case, and the utmost poltroonery in the other, and he had heard that this had been remarked in many instances, and was especially noticeable in the Russian war. In short, the debate on the paper went strongly to show how little was really known of the Celt; and he repeated, that if only those in authority would but take the trouble to make themselves acquainted with certain race distinctions,—in fact, become anthropologists,—there would be fewer political mistakes than ruled at present; and less pandering to Negroes, the working classes, and the Celtic Irish, with party clap-trap, there would be really then some hope of seeing sound patriotic projects adopted and carried out.

Professor MACDONALD observed that the Celtic populations of Scot-

land and Ireland were very much the same while they remained in the country, but most of the former emigrated. The numbers of the Celtic Irish were much greater, and having smaller means, they fell into a lower state of poverty and want. The Celtic population in Ireland were miserably in rags ; but they seemed to prefer their rags and beggary to exerting themselves for their own support. He considered it of advantage to distinguish the racial characters of the population, in the manner pointed out in the paper ; but he did not think the Celtic Irish were so bad as they had been described, and that when favourable opportunities offered, they might be induced to enter into trade, instead of continuing hodmen and labourers, as there were many successful instances, on the wharves of Liverpool and other seaports, of the rise of Celtic Irishmen from old clothesmen and hawkers becoming extensive outfitters and furnishing storekeepers. There is always a marked improvement wherever Paddy is transplanted to an improving locality, which should be encouraged.

Mr. AVERY, in a few remarks in reply, said, that he had read the paper in the most honest spirit of science. His principles had not been disputed ; and he felt assured that the facts were not exaggerated, and that they represented accurately the Irish character. Then, would the principles serve to illustrate and explain the facts ? He had shown that there was a great difference between the two peoples, and he had accounted for the difference by the difference of race. He had attempted to indicate the solution of the problem, and if he had not succeeded, then let those who objected offer a better solution.

The PRESIDENT, in adjourning the meeting, said it was the last evening of the session, but he hoped they would muster strongly at the meeting of the British Association at Exeter, and send in many anthropological papers to be read there.
